THE Lord *Haversham's* SPEECH IN THE House of Peers, &c. ON *Saturday, February 15th,* 170⅚.

My Lords,

WHAT my noble Lord has mention'd to your Lordships, occasions my standing up—I find my self under the same Difficulties; I have several Things to say to this Matter of the Union; your Lordships are very indifferent to me when I offer them. *I have a Right of speaking my Thoughts, and entring my Protest too, to any thing I dislike, and I shall certainly find some time to do so before this Matter can pass into a Law.* I am in your Lordships Judgment, Whether you will allow me to speak what I have to say, now.

My Lords, With what Disposition I come hither, I hope may be evidenc'd *by the Motion I made your Lordships last year, for Repealing certain Clauses that were grievous to* Scotland. I would do any thing that were for the Benefit and Good of both Nations.

These Articles come to your Lordships with the greatest Countenance of Authority, that I think it's possible any thing can come; your Commissioners have agreed to them; the *Scots* Parliament has

has, with some few Amendments, Ratify'd them; and the Queen her self from the Throne Approves of them; and yet you must give me leave to say, *That Authority, tho' it be the strongest Motive to incline the Will, is the weakest Argument in all the World to convince the Understanding.* 'Tis the Argument the Church of *Rome* makes use of, for their Superstitious Worship, where there are ten *Avemaries to one Pater-noster; just as unreasonable as if ten times the Application and Address were made* " to a She Favourite, *as to the Person of the Sovereign, which is a kind of State Idolatry.*

I would not, *My Lords*, be misunderstood as if I were *against a Union. A Fœderal Union, a Union of Interest, a Union in Succession, is what I shall always be for.* — But, where it whether a People inhabiting the same Island, speaking the same Language, and having the same Religion, should be under the one and the same Form of Policy and Government, I cannot see how any Man could be against it; but this is a Matter of a quite different Nature; it is, whether two Nations independant in their Sovereignties, that have their distinct Laws and Interests, and what I cannot forget, their different Forms of Worship, Church Government and Order shall be united into one Kingdom.

A Union made up, in my Opinion, of so many *mismatch'd Pieces*, of such jarring incongruous Ingredients, that should it ever take effect, I fear it would carry the *necessary Consequence of a standing Power and Force*, to keep us from falling asunder, and breaking in pieces every moment: For as my Lord *Bacon* well observes, (who I take to have been a very great Man, *though sometimes the Courtier got the better of the Philosopher.*) " A Unity, says he, that " is piec'd up by a direct Admission of Contraries in the Fundamen- " tal Points of it, is like the Toes of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Image, which " were made of Iron and Clay; *they may cleave too[illegible] but can* " *never incorporate.*

Another reason why I am against an Incorporating Union, is " *for the sake of the good old English Constitution*, justly allow'd to be the most equal and best poiz'd Government in all the World; *the peculiar Excellency of which lies in that well proportion'd Distribution of Powers, whereby the Greatness of the Monarch, and the Safety of the People, are at once provided for; and it is a Maxim in all Policy, That the surest way to preserve any Government, is by a strict Adherence to its Principles:* So that whilst this Balance of Powers is kept equal, the Constitution is safe; but who can answer what Alteration so great a weight, " *as Sixty One Scots Members, and those too return'd by a* " *Scots Privy-Council, when thrown into the Balance, may make?*

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Besides, my Lords, I must own I am apprehensive of the President, and know not how far it may be carried hereafter, or what Alteration future Parliaments may think fit to make; it is evident, by the Two and twentieth Article, that *above a Hundred* Scotch *Peers, and as many Commoners, are excluded from Sitting and Voting in the* Brittish *Parliament*; who perhaps as little thought of being *so a Year or two ago, as any of your Lordships do now*; for they had as much Right by Inheritance of Sitting there, as any one Lord in this House has of Sitting here; and that Right too, as well and as strongly fenc'd and secured to them by the Fundamental Laws of their Kingdom, by Claim of Right, and Act of Parliament, *which made it Treason to make any Alteration in the Constitution of that Kingdom*; and "*yet have they not lost this Priveledge*; And *what one Security has any Peer of* England, *by the Laws of this Land, to his Right and Privilege of Peerage, that those Lords had not*? My Lords the Bishops have once been Voted out of this House by the Temporal Lords already, and who knows what Question may come hereafter. I will venture my Life in defence of the Church of *England*, and yet at the same time own my self an Occasional Conformist. But if my Lords, the Bishops, *will weaken their own Cause so far as to give* up the two great Points of *Episcopal Ordination and Confirmation*, if they will *Approve and Ratify* the Act for securing the Presbyterian Church-Government in *Scotland*, "*as the true Protestant Religion and Purity of Worship*, they give up that which has been contended for between them and the Presbyterians this Thirty Years; and which I will undertake to prove to my Lords the Bishops, has been defended by the greatest and learnedst Men in the Church of *England*, I hope when 'tis proper, my Lords will please to give some Light to one who desires *Instruction*, that I may not *ignorantly do any thing to their Prejudice in this matter*.

There is another Reason why I am against this Union because I cannot think *it an intire Union*, the exempted Articles, I mean the Twentieth Article, whereby *Heritable Offices and Superiorities are reserved. And also the One and Twentieth; both which* Oliver, *by an Act of State, was so wise as to Abolish. Especially their Act for securing their Presbyterian Church-Government, and General Assemblies, seem to me like those little Clouds in a warm calm Summers Day, that are generally the Seeds and Attractives of approaching Tempests and Thunder.* I the rather take notice of these, because though the Articles of Union are ratified by the *Scotch* Parliament, "*yet the Bulk* "*and Body of that Nation seem to be against them.* Have not the Murmurs of the People there been so loud as to fill the whole Nation?

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and so bold too, as to reach even to *the Doors of the Parliament*? Has not the Parliament it self thought fit to suspend their beloved Clause in their Act of Security, for Arming their People during the Session? Nay, has not the Government, by advice of Parliament, set out a Proclamation, which I have here in my Hand, *pardoning all Slaughter, Bloodshed, Maiming*, &c. *that is committed upon any who are found in any Tumults there, and discharging all Prosecution for the future?* I do not mention this to find Fault with any thing that is done in *Scotland*, but only to shew to your Lordships, that when such *an unusual Proclamation as this is set out by Advice of Parliament, and cannot stay the Forms of a Law*, when we know, that upon extraordinary Occasion, *if it be but to grace a Complement*, a Bill may be read Three times in one Day: *Sure, my Lords, it shews a very great Ferment that requires so very speedy an Application.* After all, *has not what we desire, I mean their being upon the same foot of Succession with us, been offer'd without this Union?* In short, my Lords, I think an Incorporating Union one of the most dangerous Experiments to both Nations; in which, if we happen to be mistaken, however we may think of curing things hereafter, the Error is irretrieveable.

My Lords, this is the last time that I believe I shall ever trouble your Lordships *in an English Parliament*, give me leave therefore to say but one word.

In King *Charles* the First's time, the Cavaliers were the Persons that ventured their Lives, and lost their Estates to serve him. And in King *Charles* the Seconds time, they were forgot, and left Starving. At the Restoration, the Presbyterians were as Zealous for that, as any Men whatever, and none were more Prosecuted all his Reign. Towards the latter end of that Reign, the Bishops threw out the Bill of Exclusion, and King *James* put them into the *Tower*. At the Revolution, the *Londonderry*-Men, &c. were the Persons that made the first and noble stop to King *James* in *Ireland*; and I my self have fed some of them at my own Table, when they were Starving, with the greatest Commendations and Promises in their Pockets; which I have seen under King *William*'s own Hand. In the last Reign, *every Body knows who they were that made their most constant Court at St.* James's, *and we see in what Favour they are in at present.*

Now there is a great deal of Zeal for this Union, I wish from my Soul that the Advantages may attend it of Tranquility and Security, Power, Peace and Plenty, as is intended by it; but yet it is possible Men may be mistaken, I won't say they will ever repent of it; but I will take leave to say what I have formerly said in this place, "*That what has been may be.*

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